2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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*249 For the first time in the history of Vila Recôncavo the work-
468 ers' discontent has taken the form of a strike accompanied by violence. The strike, although a general one throughout the sugar industry, was the first one in which workers of Vila Recôncavo participated. It was specifically directed against the
178 agricultural part of the factory combination; however, it af-
*249 fected some private plantations as well, and was joined by
468 workers of private plantations. The strike was put down immediately and effectively by the state police. On investigation
• 467 the police found considerable Communist literature and prop-
668 aganda in the quarters of the labor union in Centro which had
[625] organized the strike. The labor union itself was illegal, since it was not registered with the proper authorities, and its leaders were well-known Communist agitators. What is important for our study is the appearance in the community of Vila Recôncavo of written and verbal Communist propaganda and the willingness of the local agricultural workers to participate in a general strike. This is a tremendous change for such a conservative area, where loyalty and paternalism have always been so strong.

178 Thus the sugar industry of Vila Recôncavo has entered a
*249 phase of many new difficulties: ties between factory and pri-
571 vate planters are strained, and labor relations are becoming
466 a problem for the private, as well as the corporate, planters. Inflation and the "dollar situation," which affect planters directly since all machinery must be imported, are also working toward the build-up of a new "crisis," continuing the pattern described in Chapter 3.

178 However, a new element is entering the community of Vila
245 Recôncavo in the form of a new crop, cacao. One of the plant-
242 ers began experimenting with cacao during the author's first period of research in Vila Reconcavo. However, at least five years must pass before it can be known if the cacao tree will give satisfactory fruit. At the end of 1955 the Institute of Cacao of Bahia presented the experiment to the public as a success and is now systematically stimulating interest in cacao as a possible and lucrative substitute for sugar cane.

245 Cacao is Bahia's major export crop and in general means
439 money to a Bahian. Still more attractive is the fact that the
178 cacao introduced to the Recôncavo is a genetic mutation, giv-
*[249] ing a white-seeded fruit which brings a much higher price on the world market than does the ordinary fruit. The financial attraction of cacao, plus the disagreeable and financially weak

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trate and oversee most of the operations. This type of relationship has proved so satisfactory that up to date there have been no strikes, and no labour movements, or unions formed among the workmen of São Pedro. The length of time the technicians and other workmen of the *usina* have remained in their employ, refusing employment in other *usinas* and other occupations, has been a matter of pride to the owners of São Pedro.

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It is on the plantations belonging to the *usina* that the white owner-*mestiço* worker personal relations are least close. The *usina* owners are able to make only occasional tours of inspection of the plantations, and therefore have little personal contact with the workers. However, the administrator has in many respects taken the place of the owner. He is the only man on the plantation with authority, and all complaints and requests for favours or help must be presented to him. In one case, an administrator has been on the same plantation for 26 years, and is well-known for the 'court' he holds. Once a year he gives an immense party for the entire community, and people from all four classes attend. He is wanted as godfather for the children of the workmen, and as *compadre* in their marriages. Nevertheless, the administrator is as much an employee of the *usina* as is the worker, and while the administrator can and does assume some of the attitudes and responsibilities of the owner, he cannot assume them all. However, it is a frequent saying among the white-owner class that the real owners are the administrators, for they are the group closest to the workers and to the land. A plantation with a poor administrator is not only a poor producer, but also means hardship for the *moradores*; a poor administrator will take no interest in them, and take little care of them.

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In other areas of the Recôncavo, where the *usinas* are larger and more industrialized and where no owner resides either at the *usina* or on one of the plantations, but lives always in Salvador, there is only a paid representative of the corporation at the *usina*. In such large industrial units the personal element is almost entirely lacking both at the *usina* and on the company-owned plantations. There have been cases of labour difficulties, strikes, violence and the intrusion of political groups. In several instances, there are efforts today, on the owner's part to re-establish personal contact with mill and field workers, even on the largest of the corporation *usinas* and plantations.

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VII. The relations between people of different physical types in Vila Recôncavo and on the surrounding sugar plantations have grown out of the plantation-slave system which flourished in the region about a century ago. Many patterns and attitudes formed in that epoch persist even today in the town and on the privately-owned plantations in the vicinity.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

[City of Salvador]

siderable extent over those of the male portion, the church exercises a substantial measure of control. Prestige of the military is high.

The large family, with its wide ramifications and its patriarchal organization, also bespeaks a preindustrial era. Social cohesion in the community is maintained by the close association of members of these large family groups, together with the intimate ties common to friends of long standing, the degree of whose intimacy is much greater than that ordinarily to be found in the cities of comparable size in industrial societies. One notes in Bahia a warmth of manner uncommon to the United States. Bahians, like most Brazilians, tend to be very affectionate in the family and warmhearted toward their friends. Characteristic of such primary relationships is a high order of courtesy and politeness and an almost limitless consideration for the convenience and comfort of relatives and friends. Religious affiliation and guild association weave further strands of solidarity, binding the urban community together as if it were merely an overgrown village.

In this stable society there is a comparative absence of most forms of conflict. In commerce and finance competition is comparatively slight and limited in considerable measure to foreigners. The economy is almost entirely extractive and industry is minimal. The few differences which arise between labor and capital often take the form of a

ual educated in Rio, to be seen on the beaches. Snug-fitting street dresses or those made of sheer or transparent material, and skirts which do not fall at least several inches below the knee, are subject to general criticism. At the exit of the principal churches and cathedrals is posted an official proclamation of the archbishop of Bahia specifying permissible dress. Failure to observe these regulations automatically bars the offender from the sacraments of the church.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

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Bahia, one mulatto, and three blacks. Several substantial white citizens had received their early training under this man.

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The public library is patronized indiscriminately by members of all ethnic groups. Blacks, however, appear among its frequenters only in rather limited numbers. For instance, of 560 individuals using the library facilities on different days and at different hours during the day,[11] only 9.6 per cent were blacks, while 35.9 per cent were mulattoes and 52.7 per cent were whites.[12]

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In labor unions organization definitely follows class lines, and ethnic differences are largely lost sight of in the pursuit of common ends. Leadership, however, tends to be white or near-white, even in those unions composed predominantly of blacks and dark mixed-bloods. For instance, at a "solemn assembly" for the installation of new officers in a local labor union whose membership, limited to 550, is overwhelmingly Negro (as indicated by a detailed check of the members with the aid of the union secretary), the retiring president was a *branco da Bahia* and the incoming president a light mulatto. Only eleven *brancos* (probably all, or nearly all, of whom are *brancos da Bahia*) and relatively few mulattoes are to be found among the membership.[13]

[11] Samples were taken for each hour from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M., with the exception of 12:00 noon to 2:00 P.M., when the institution was closed.

[12] Also 7 (1.2 per cent) *cafusos*, 3 (0.5 per cent) *mamelucos*.

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[13] Of the speakers, 6 were blacks, 5 were mulattoes (2 quite light), 1 was a *branco da Bahia*, and 1 was a white. Among the themes presented were: "Solidarity! All Workers Are Brothers!" "Since the Revolution of 1930 Workers Are No Longer Slaves"; "Viva Getulio Vargas, the God, the Jesus, and the Senhor do Bomfim [patron saint of Bahia's poorer classes] of the Workers!" "Remember the Chicago Workers Who Died for Liberty!" "Save Brazil's Wealth from Exploitation by *Norte-Americanos* Who Hope To Seize Her Mines and Her Waterfalls and Make Slaves of Her People!" "Look to the World's Greatest Socialist and Sociologist, Jesus Christ."

[SALVADOR]

From this point of
/52 cont./ view politics is in the process
178 of becoming one of the most powerful means of social transforma-
*563 tion. The politicians take the greatest care to promote the regis-
565 tration on the lists of the largest possible number of persons of the
666 lower classes, among whom there is a majority of Blacks and métis, people more dependent and less educated and for that reason also more amenable to propaganda and demagoguery. In the months that precede the general elections held simultaneously every four years throughout the country, the candidates for political offices spend considerable sums and multiply their efforts, directly or through the instrumentality of their canvassers, to persuade the people to have themselves registered as voters. The services that they render these voters are one of the means they count on to obtain their votes. As a result, the most popular politicians are those who, not having or pretending not to have class or color prejudice, approach the most humble voters, shake hands and embrace them when they meet them, pay them visits or receive them at their homes or in their offices, and who, after having been elected, continue to lavish on them the same demonstrations, in public or in the government palaces or chambers. A number of politicians, because of this, are assisted by black and mulatto canvassers, who thus, in our day, maintain the loyalty and the devotion that their ancestors showed the families in which they were slaves.

178 In former times, an informant tells us, a man of dark color
*563 could not enter political life; he could be a canvasser, but he was
666 rarely a candidate or a member of a party. In spite of this, in the
[665] municipal council of Bahia there was /53/ always one or two Blacks of humble occupation, elected thanks to the influence of political-party chiefs, and some morenos or mulattoes of more or less high rank were elected as representatives in the legislative
[646] assembly of the State of Bahia. With the political revolution of
• [467] 1930, representation by class in the chamber of the State and in the federal chamber was created; in that way numerous manual laborers, black or mulatto, were elected as representatives of
[665] their unions. When union representation was suppressed in 1937,
[467] colored men continued to try to obtain improvement of their social situation by taking part in the life of the parties.